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Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-16 EUR-25 NEA-10 RSC-01

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AID-20 SR-02 ORM-03 OMB-01 DRC-01 /211 W
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R 052004Z DEC 73
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1793
INFO AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 5387

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR UN CB
SUBJECT: KHMER QUESTION: TEXT OF US DEC 5 STATEMENT

QUOTE MR. PRESIDENT:

LAST WEEK THIS ASSEMBLY DISCUSSED MEANS OF STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS. DURING THAT DEBATE THE UNITED STATES CALLED ATTENTION TO THE GROWING TENDENCY OF SOME OF OUR MEMBERS TO PROPOSE SIMPLISTIC, ONE-SIDED RESOLUTIONS ON THE MOST COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT OF ISSUES, RESOLUTIONS OFTEN TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES CONCERNED. MY DELEGATION POINTED OUT THEN THAT IN DIVORCING ITSELF FROM REALITY IN THIS MANNER, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WAS WEAKENING ITS ABILITY TO HAVE IMPACT ON THE REAL PROBLEMS WE FACE IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD.

REGRETTABLY, THE RESOLUTION WE ARE CONSIDERING TODAY IS PARTICULARLY NOTABLE BOTH FOR ITS ONE-SIDEDNESS, AND FOR ITS FAILURE TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE REAL SITUATION AS IT PRESENTLY EXISTS IN CAMBODIA, AND IN EAST ASIA. ONE CAN
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ONLY WONDER AT THE CURIOUS TWISTS OF LOGIC WHICH HAVE PRO-

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DUCED A RESOLUTION THROUGH WHICH SOME MEMBERS OF THE NON-
ALIGNED MOVEMENT APPEAR TO SUPPORT GREAT POWER HEGEMONY
IN ASIA, THROUGH WHICH SELF-PROCLAIMED REVOLUTIONARY
GOVERNMENTS APPEAR TO SUPPORT THE DIVINE RIGHT OF A ROYAL
PRETENDER, AND THROUGH WHICH SOME OF THOSE AMONG US WHO ARE
THE MOST VOCIFEROUS IN DENOUNCING OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE
IN THE AFFAIRS OF SOVEREIGN STATES NOW PROPOSE THAT THIS
ASSEMBLY INSTRUCT THE KHMER PEOPLE ON WHO IS TO REPRESENT
THEM.

CERTAINLY THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE ISSUE BEFORE US ARE WORTHY
OF A MORE BALANCED, CONSIDERED APPROACH THAN THAT TAKEN
BY THIS RESOLUTION. ONE MUST WONDER WHETHER ITS SPONSORS
HAVE THOUGHT THROUGH SERIOUSLY THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHAT THEY
PROPOSE. HAVE THEY ASKED THEMSELVES, FOR EXAMPLE, WHY
IT IS THAT ONLY ONE EAST ASIAN MEMBER GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS
SEATING PRINCE SIHANOUK'S "GOVERNMENT"?

MANY DELEGATIONS HERE HAVE BEEN QUICK TO VOICE THEIR CONCERN
OVER ANY APPEARANCE OF GREAT POWER DOMINATION, AND THEIR
RESENTMENT WHENEVER THEY BELIEVE THEY SENSE THE POSSIBILITY
OF A GREAT POWER DICTATE. HAVE THEY, I WONDER, THOUGHT ABOUT
THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS RESOLUTION FOR ASIA? HAVE THEY ASKED
THE VIEWS OF THEIR MANY EAST ASIAN COLLEAGUES? HAVE THEY
CONSIDERED THAT THEY WOULD BE SIDING WITH THE GREAT POWER OF
THE AREA AGAINST THE SMALLER ONES?

YESTERDAY THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF THAILAND
REFERRED TO THE VIEWS OF SEVEN ASIAN AND PACIFIC STATES --
INDONESIA, JAPAN, MALAYSIA, NEW ZEALAND, THE PHILIPPINES,
SINGAPORE, AND THAILAND. THESE STATES HAVE FORMULATED
THEIR POSITION ON THE ISSUE BEFORE US, AND HAVE CIRCULATED
IT AMONG THE UN MEMBERSHIP IN DOCUMENT A/7254. I BELIEVE
THAT ALL OF US HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO EXAMINE THESE VIEWS
CAREFULLY. MANY MEMBERS HERE HAVE, IN OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES,
INSISTED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF GIVING PRIMACY TO STATES OF
A REGION OR THEIR REGIONAL GROUPING IN SEEKING SOLUTIONS
TO PROBLEMS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE AREA. IN THIS CASE, IT SEEMS
TO ME, WE ARE FORTUNATE TO HAVE A REGIONAL CONSENSUS BEFORE
US, AND WE SHOULD CERTAINLY GIVE IT THE GREATEST WEIGHT IN
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OUR CONSIDERATIONS.

THE ARGUMENTATION MADE IN SUPPORT OF THE "ROYAL GOVERNMENT
OF NATIONAL UNION OF CAMBODIA" SEEMS TO REST LARGELY ON
THE PRINCIPLE THAT SINCE PRINCE SIHANOUK IS AT IS HEAD, IT
MUST BE THE TRUE GOVERNMENT OF CAMBODIA. BUT WITH ALL DUE
RESPECT TO PRINCE SIHANOUK'S ONCE INTIMATE, OFTEN CONSTRUCTIVE
ROLE IN EARLIER CAMBODIAN DEVELOPMENTS, I SUBMIT THAT WE

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CAN FIND SOME MORE OBJECTIVE AND RELIABLE CRITERIA FOR
DECIDING WHO GOVERNS CAMBODIA. BETTER YET, CAN WE NOT ALLOW
THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE THE PRIVILEGE OF MAKING THIS DETERMINA-
TION THEMSELVES? THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE HAVE NOT, SO FAR
AS I KNOW, GRANTED PRINCE SIHANOUK ANY IRREVOCABLE RIGHT
TO RULE OVER THEM. NEITHER, I SUBMIT, SHOULD WE.

AMONG THE SPONSORS OF THE RESOLUTION BEFORE US ARE SOME OF
THE MOST VOCAL SUPPORTERS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTER-
FERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOVEREIGN STATES.
HAVE THEY FULLY CONSIDERED THE BASIC CONFLICT BETWEEN THIS
PRINCIPLE AND SUPPORT FOR A RESOLUTION BY WHICH FOREIGNERS
WOULD TELL THE KHMER PEOPLE WHO IS TO REPRESENT THEM IN THIS
WORLD ORGANIZATION?

IT IS HARD TO CONCEIVE OF A MORE GROSS OR MORE BLATANT
INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A MEMBER STATE.
IF THIS WERE TO BECOME A PRECEDENT, WHO IS TO SAY WHAT MEMBER
STATE IN THIS ASSEMBLY MIGHT NOT BE THE NEXT VICTIM OF SUCH
A PROCEDURE.

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ALL OF US WHO HAVE BEEN READING THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS --

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REPUTABLE JOURNALS SUCH AS LE MONDE OF PARIS AND THE GUARDIAN
OF BRITAIN WHICH ENJOY A LARGE AUDIENCE HERE IN THE UN --
ARE AWARE THAT PRINCE SIHANOUK HIMSELF ADMITS THAT HE IS NOT
IN CONTROL OF HIS "GOVERNMENT," AND THAT HIS "GOVERN-
MENT" IS NOT IN CONTROL OF CAMBODIA. PRINCE SIHANOUK DOES
NOT HEAD A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE, HE IS A NON-GOVERNMENT IN
EXILE. HAVE THE SUPPORTERS OF THE RESOLUTION BEFORE US GIVEN
THOUGHT TO THE PRECEDENT THEY ARE SETTING, IN SEEKING TO
HAVE THE UN DECIDE THE ISSUE OF CAMBODIAN REPRESENTATION
NOT ON THE BASIS OF WHO ACTUALLY GOVERNS CAMBODIA, BUT
RATHER WHO THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE GOVERN CAMBODIA?

BUT LET US LEAVE THE NEVER NEVER LAND OF THE "ROYAL
GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNION OF CAMBODIA" AND RESOLUTION
A/L/714. LET US TURN OUR ATTENTION TO THE REAL WORLD,
TO WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN CAMBODIA, WHAT IS HAPPENING, AND WHAT
MY DELEGATION BELIEVES MOST OF US HOPE WILL HAPPEN.

IN MARCH OF 1970, PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK WAS REMOVED AS
THE CHIEF OF STATE OF CAMBODIA BY A UNANIMOUS VOTE OF THE
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CAMBODIAN PARLIAMENT UNDER THE TERMS OF THE CONSTITUTION
THEN IN EFFECT, THE CONSTITUTION THAT PRINCE SIHANOUK HIMSELF
HAD PROCLAIMED. THE COMPLAINT AGAINST THE PRINCE WHICH LED
TO HIS REMOVAL WAS HIS OPEN AND SINCE PUBLICLY ADMITTED
COMPLICITY WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE FORCES IN THE PROSECUTION
OF THEIR WAR AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM. HIS ACTIVITY
INCLUDED HIS GIVING PERMISSION FOR LARGE SCALE USE OF CAM-
BODIAN TERRITORY BY SOUTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS AND THE NORTH
VITENAMESE ARMY OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS. THIS OCCUPATION
BEGAN TO SUPPLANT THE INDIGENOUS CAMBODIAN INHABITANTS,
AND IN A DE FACTO MANNER, TO ANNEX THE AREAS OCCUPIED.
HERE IS THE REAL INTERVENTION BY A FOREIGN FORCE. THIS IS
THE INTERVENTION THAT BEGAN THE TRAGEDY OF CAMBODIA.

THE REMOVAL OF PRINCE SIHANOUK WAS NOT A PALACE COUP. IT
RESULTED FROM POPULAR DISAFFECTION, AND GENERAL DISCONTENT
WITH THE THEN EXISTING SITUATION. THE INITIAL DEMONSTRATIONS
BEGAN IN THE PROVINCES, PROTESTING NORTH VIETNAMESE
OCCUPATION OF THEIR TERRITORY, AND QUICKLY SPREAD TO THE CAPITAL,
CULMINATING IN THE PARLIAMENT'S UNANIMOUS DECISION TO REMOVE
PRINCE SIHANOUK FROM THE OFFICE.

I MIGHT NOTE THAT PRINCE SIHANOUK'S REMOVAL FROM OFFICE
WAS NOT ACCOMPANIED BY ANY CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERN-
MENT IN EXISTENCE AT THE TIME HAD BEEN CHOSEN BY THE PRINCE
IN AUGUST OF THE PRECEDING YEAR, AND THE PARLIAMENT HAD
BEEN ELECTED IN 1966 FROM HIS OWN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.
THIS GOVERNMENT REMAINED IN OFFICE, REITERATED ITS ADHERENCE

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TO ALL TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS, AND MADE NO SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES IN ITS OWN COMPOSITION.

NO SOONER HAD THE CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT MADE THE SINGLE CHANGE OF REMOVING SIHANOUK, AND BEGUN NEGOTIATIONS WITH VITENAMESE COMMUNIST REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THEIR TROOPS FROM CAMBODIA, THAN THOSE TROOPS BEGAN TO ATTACK POLICE AND ARMY POSTS IN AND NEAR THEIR AREAS OF OCCUPATION, TO WIDEN THEIR ZONES OF CONTROL, AND TO PROTECT THEIR BASE AREAS. HOW MANY HERE PROTESTED THAT INTERFERENCE BY FOREIGN FORCES IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A MEMBER STATE?

FOLLOWING HIS REMOVAL FROM OFFICE, SIHANOUK TURNED TO AN UNCLASSIFIED

INSURGENT GROUP WHICH HE HAD PREVIOUSLY TRIED, WITH CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS, TO SUPPRESS, THE KHMER ROUGE, AND TO THE VIETNAMESE OCCUPATION FORCES, IN AN EFFORT TO REGAIN HIS PERSONAL POWER. HE HIMSELF HAS CHOSEN TO LIVE IN PEKING. THE PRINCIPAL BASES OF HIS MANDATE TO RULE CAMBODIA -- NORTH VITENAMESE TROOPS, CHINESE DIPLOMACY, AND AN EXTERNALLY SUPPORTED INSURGENCY -- DO NOT ENHANCE THE LEGITIMACY OF HIS CLAIM.

THE SITUATION AT PRESENT IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CAMBODIA IS FIGHTING ALONE, WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF FOREIGN TROOPS OR FOREIGN ADVISERS, AGAINST A LOCAL INSURGENCY, LED, EQUIPPED, AND SUBSTANTIALLY ASSISTED BY THE FORCES OF A FOREIGN COUNTRY, NORTH VIETNAM.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KHMER REPUBLIC HAS NEVER CEASED TO MAINTAIN ITS CLEAR CONTROL OF THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT, THE SUPPORT OF A GREAT MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION, AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE CRUCIAL URBAN AREAS AND TERRITORIES IN WHICH THE GREATEST PORTION OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF THE KHMER PEOPLE TAKES PLACE. IT THUS COMMANDS THE RESOURCES AND ENJOYS THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE, AND CONSEQUENTLY IS IN A POSITION TO CARRY OUT THE OBLIGATIONS OF CAMBODIA UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER.

MY DELEGATION FLATLY REJECTS AS UNTRUE THE ASSERTIONS BY THE DELEGATION OF ALGERIA AND THE DELEGATION OF CHINA THAT THE INSURGENTS IN CAMBODIA CONTROL A MAJORITY OF THE KHMER PEOPLE. WE HAVE ALL, OF COURSE, UNFORTUNATELY GROWN ACCUSTOMED TO THE SHRILL INSISTENCE OF THE ALGERIAN DELEGATION THAT THEY MUST BE THE ONE-SIDED ARBITER OF ALMOST EVERY ISSUE THAT COMES BEFORE THIS BODY, AND FEW WILL BE SURPRISED TO KNOW THAT THE ALGERIAN DELEGATION HAS RESORTED TO GROSS INVENTION AND EXAGGERATION.

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THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD BE MORE CONCERNED THAT THE
DELEGATION OF CHINA HAS REGRETTABLY CHOSEN TO REPEAT THE
FALSE CHARGES AND MISSTATEMENTS OF FACT WHICH WE HEARD
FROM HIM IN THE GENERAL COMMITTEE. AND I AM SORRY TO
SEE THAT IT HAS ONCE AGAIN EMPLOYED HARSH INVECTIVE AGAINST
MY COUNTRY. REPITITION DOES NOT MAKE FALSE ALLEGATIONS
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AND MISSTATEMENTS OF FACT TRUE. CHINA IS, AFTER ALL, A
PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE BELIEVE CHINA'S
PRIVILEGED POSITION IN THIS ORGANIZATION ENTAILS CERTAIN
RESPONSIBILITIES, INCLUDING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHINESE
DELEGATION TO PRESENT ITS VIEWS IN A REASONABLE TONE, FREE
FROM PROPAGANDA EXCESSES AND INTENTIONAL INACCURACIES.

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IT IS TRUE THAT NORTH VIETNAMESE AND INSURGENT FORCES HAVE DIS-
RUPTED GOVERNMENT CONTROL, IN THE MILITARY SENSE, OF SOME PARTS OF
THE TERRITORY OF CAMBODIA. CLAIMS BY THE INSURGENTS, AND

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THEIR FOREIGNSUPPORTERS, THAT THEY CONTROL 90 PERCENT OF THE TERRITORY AND 80 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION ARE PATENTLY FALSE. THE DEEPWATER PORT OF KOMPONG SOM AND SIXTEEN OF THE TWENTY PROVINCIAL CAPITALS ARE CONTROLLED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KHMER REPUBLIC. THE FOUR PROVINCIAL CAPITALS EXCEPTED--ALL IN THE NORTHEAST OF THE COUNTRY-- WERE ABANDONED TO THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY IN JUNE OF 1970. THE BULK OF THE KHMER POPULATION LIVES ALONG THE LINES OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RIVERS. THESE ARE GENERALLY CONTROLLED BY FORCES LOYAL TO THE GOVERNMENT IN PHNOM PENH. WE ESTIMATE THAT MORE THAN 70 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION IS ADMINISTERED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KHMER REPUBLIC.

THE TERRITORY IN WHICH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND THEKHMER ROUGE HOLD SWAY IS PRIMARILY RURAL IN CHARACTER. THE AREAS OF CENTRAL IMPORTANCE TO THE MAIN FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND THE SOCIAL PATTERNS OF CAMBODIAN LIFE,AS WELL AS THE MAJOR MARKETS AND OTHER PORTS, ARE CLEARLY UNDER FULL UNCLASSIFIED

GOVERNMENT CONTROL. NEUTRAL FOREIGN OBSERVERS ARE FREE TO VISIT THE AREAS UNDER PHNOM PENH CONTROL,AND DO SO AS A MATTER OF COURSE. IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT EVEN IN THOSE AREAS UNDER THEMILITARY CONTROL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE AND INSURGENT FORCES, A LARGE PART OF THE POPULATION RETAINS ITS ALLEGIANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KHMER REPUBLIC. THE THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES WHO FLEE THE FIGHTING IN CONTESTED ZONES GO ONLY TO TERRITORIES IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAS CLEAR CONTROL.

IN ANY CASE, THE FACT THAT GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF CERTAIN PARTS OF THE TERRITORY OF CAMBODIA HAS BEEN INTERRUPTED BY NORTH VIETNAMESE AND INSURGENT FORCES HAS NO NECESSARY RELATIONSHIP TO THE QUESTION OF THE DEGREE OF EFFECTIVE AUTHORITY EXERCISED BY THE SELF-STYLED SIHANOUK "GOVERNMENT." THE ENTITY, WHICH HAS LONG HAD ITS BASE IN A FOREIGN CAPITAL FAR DISTANT FROM THE TERRITORY OF CAMBODIA, HAS NOT EVEN DEMONSTRATED ITS CONTROL OVER THE INSURGENT FORCES OPERATING IN CAMBODIA. NOR IS THERE ANY INDICATION THAT THAT ENTITY CONTROLS ANY SORT OF ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY WHICH MIGHT EXERCISE GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY IN TERRITORY UNDER THE MILITARY CONTROL OF INSURGENT AND NORTH VIET-NAMESE FORCES.

THE FIGHTING IN CAMBODIA GOES ON, AND AS LONG AS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARE WILLING TO CONTINUE, THERE IS NO END IN SIGHT. SHOULD WE, IN VIEW OF THIS LONG, COSTLY, AND STILL UNRESOLVED CONFLICT, CONCLUDED THAT THE KHMER PEOPLE WERE WRONG TO RESENT AND RESIST FOREIGN AGGRESSION? SHOULD WE DECLARE THAT THEY WERE NAIVE TO BELIEVE THEIR COUNTRY

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COULD AVOID THE DOMINATION OF ITS POWERFUL NEIGHBORS TO THE NORTH?
SHOULD WE NOW EXPLAIN TO THEM THAT THEY MUST ACCEPT A REGIME BASED IN PEKING, THAT THEY MUST ALLOW NORTH VIETNAM TO OCCUPY AND CONTROL MUCH OF THEIR TERRITORY, AND THAT THEY MUST NEVER AGAIN SEEK TO CHANGE THEIR POLICIES, NOR THEIR CHIEF OF STATE, WITHOUT FIRST SECURING THE APPROVAL OF CHINA, NORTH VIETNAM, AND THIS ASSEMBLY? WE CANNOT BELIEVE THAT STATES VALUING THEIR OWN SOVEREIGNTY AND REPRESENTED IN THIS ASSEMBLY WOULD DISPLAY SUCH ARROGANCE IN TRYING TO DICTATE TO THE PEOPLE OF A MEMBER STATE OF THE UN.
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AS FOR THE KHMER PEOPLE, THEY CHOSE NOT TO ACCEPT THE DICTATES OF A CYNICAL REALPOLITIK WHICH TOOK NO ACCOUNT OF THEIR NATIONAL PRIDE, THEIR DIGNITY, AND THEIR FREEDOM. IN REMOVING PRINCE SIHANOUK FROM OFFICE, THE GOVERNMENT OF CAMBODIA SOUGHT TO PRESERVE ITS NEUTRALITY, ITS INDEPENDENCE, AND ITS SOVEREIGNTY, NATIONAL RIGHTS WHICH IT FELT PRINCE SIHANOUK HAD CEASED TO DEFEND. ARE WE TO TELL THE KHMER PEOPLE THAT THESE PRINCIPLES ARE ONLY WORDS, THAT THEY DO NOT APPLY TO SMALL, WEAK STATES, WITH STRONG AGGRESSIVE NEIGHBORS? HAS THIS ORGANIZATION SO FORGOTTEN THE IDEALS OF ITS FOUNDERS? HAVE WE SO DEPARTED FROM THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR CHARTER?

CLEARLY THERE IS MUCH DISAGREEMENT AMONG US AS TO HOW THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CAMBODIA CAME ABOUT, OR AS TO HOW IT SHOULD BE RESOLVED. BUT THE UNITED STATES WOULD HOPE THAT WE COULD ALL AGREE THAT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS PREFERABLE TO A MILITARY SOLUTION. LET US ALL READ THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS, AND STUDY THE PRIVATE ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KHMER REPUBLIC, AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, THOSE OF PRINCE SIHANOUK, TO DETERMINE WHICH OF THE TWO IS TRULY SEEKING PEACE, WHICH OF THE TWO HAS OFFERED TO NEGOTIATE, AND WHICH OF THE TWO HAS ACCEPTED THE NEED FOR CONCILIATION. IT IS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KHMER REPUBLIC THAT HAS REPEATEDLY STATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO NEOGITATE A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. IT IS PRINCE SIHANOUK OF THE KHMER ROUGE WHO SEEK TO PROLONG THE VIOLENCE AND THE BLOODSHED. LET US NOT THEREFORE SEEK TO DISCREDIT THOSE WHO ARE SEEKING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. LET US NOT TAKE ANY ACTION WHICH CAN ONLY COMPLICATE THE SITUATION, AND FURTHER BLOCK THE PATH TO PEACE.
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